/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as ar interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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/131 cont./

243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case
[251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the
[237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly," Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kólis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest
[821] them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their hands. Arracacha (ā's) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

● 245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet
[262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./

245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (tolǒ), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoĩts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambĩč or pĩna, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šĩāl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosẽ oñ) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz oñ) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

244 now widely used all over Spanish America, is of Kitšua origin
262 (*zapayú*); *ápe-te*, the most extensively cultivated variety, is called *Mejicano* by the Spanish natives, although it seems to have been cultivated in the country from time immemorial.

Several interesting edible roots or tubers, mostly under cultivation, are relished by the Paez Indians. Thus *ãs*, or *aus* (*Arracaccia esculenta*), a celery-like umbelliferous plant with large white roots; *unt*, a peculiar yam (*Dioscorea*); *nia* the cassava root; *káka*, the potato, of which there are certainly several species; *tsqtvi*, or *ñnil* (*Ullucus tuberosus*), a very remarkable *Chenopodiacea*, of the high Andean region; *pnil*, *Tropæolum tuberosum*, another species, the cultivation of which seems to be restricted to a limited district of western South America. All these plants are more or less under cultivation, but the Indians also eat many wild roots which I had no opportunity to identify. *Kambitš* (*Cyclanthera pedata*), the singularly-shaped fruit of a Cucurbit, is used as a green vegetable along with the tender sprouts of several other plants.

245 Among the favorite fruits the plantain naturally ranks first,
262 and is conspicuous around the houses even at an altitude of 1,800 meters. The generic names are *plan*, suggesting the Spanish *plántano* or *plátano*, and *tulú*, a word that forms the root of *Tulúa*, the name of a town in a territory formerly occupied by the Quimbayas. The banana or *guinco*, corrupted into *kuciô*, is probably an imported variety, as are several others rarely met with.

Other fruits are the *papaya*, *paiá*, not mentioned by Castillo, and the name of which indicates a modern acquisition; *ñal*, one of the granadillas (*Passiflora edulis*); *tlahú*, the pineapple, which grows only in the lower region; *ñgtse*, the aguacate (*Persea gratissima*); and also several species of *Inga*, the white pulp around the seeds of which is eaten.

There are two varieties of edible guavas, the one sweet (*Psidium guayaba*), the other sweet sour (*Ps. pomiferum*); and the berries of several *Melastomataceæ*, many of which escaped my observation, are enjoyed by both children and adults.

276 A plant very important in the Indian economy is the coca
[249]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

(*cf*). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *iisa*, and the quicklime or *kuetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *kuetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep.

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *nuci-hi*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *sinsa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *maguey*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *guadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *mom*, or *mum*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation.

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapium*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *láme* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate IX). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un-

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

P /298 cont./

●245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are proscribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at C [249] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous [656] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is P [435] high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River, Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P 241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Calderas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. P [783] The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 [439] year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba. Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 192 [128] Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

●245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

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Fams.	Coffee				Plantains			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...	.....
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	2	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	200	200	...	.....
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...	.....
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...	.....
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...	.....
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...	.....
12.	...(5)	...	...	.....	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	.....	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...	.....
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241
433 From the above table we can make the following deductions:

● [245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize,
plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[276] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably
[273] complement this dietary regimen.

6: Bernal Villa--101 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro VII: Narrow valley of the Paez River in Juntas, showing the alluvial terraces and the small vegas with plantings of coffee.